EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

SPAIN'S STUDENT REVOLT: J. A. DEL VAYO

THE Nation

FEBRUARY 25, 1956
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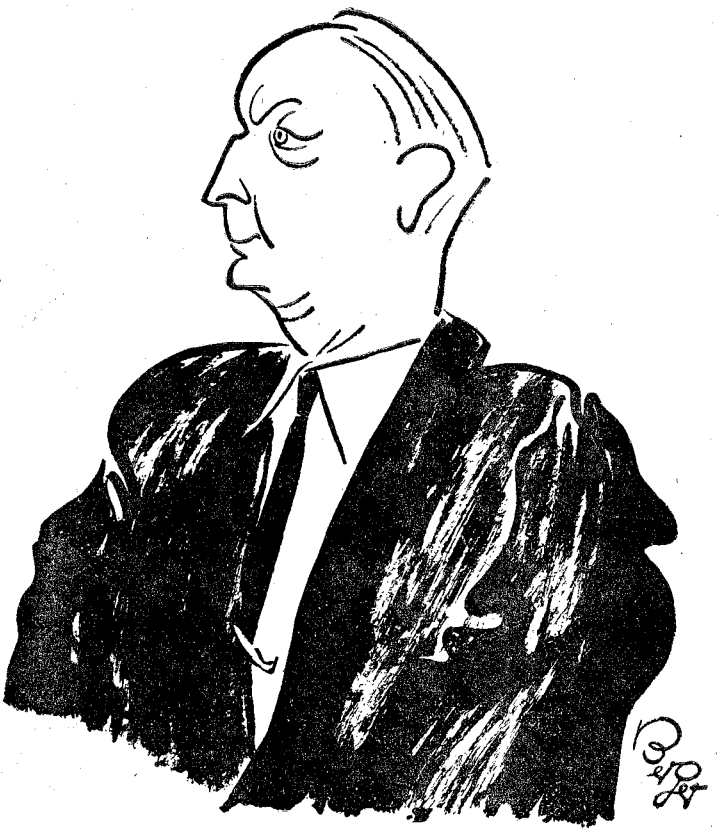
BLACK *of the* SUPREME COURT

by Charles A. Madison



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LAST TIME ...

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Pulpit for Unionism

Dalton, Georgia

THIS TOWN, in the state's northwest corner, is the "tufted-textile capital of the world." It is also the capital of the Church of God of the Union Assembly. Mill workers, most of whom are mountain folk, find the religion of the major denominations too high-toned. For years they have been forming small new religious sects in an effort to recapture old-time religion coupled with a congenial social atmosphere. Heretofore these sects have been hostile or, at best, indifferent to unionism. The Church of God of the Union Assembly is unique and significant in that it is strongly pro-labor.

Early last year the church started a monthly newspaper edited by Donald West, well known in the South as a poet. A native of these Georgia mountains, he is politically, as well as genealogically, a descendant of the Populists, who half a century ago were strong hereabouts. Although he began his career as a Congregationalist minister, he maintained friendly relations with the pro-labor sect that was making progress in the fierce denominational competition of his native district. Several years ago he joined it.

WEST christened the new paper *The Southerner* and dedicated it to the interests of the South's poor whites and Negroes. Anti-racist as well as pro-labor, the paper was well received by the labor press nationally and developed considerable circulation throughout the South.

Dalton's chenille mills are all unorganized, paying the legal minimum of 75 cents an hour. Living conditions in the area, according to the 1950 census, were considerably below those of the South generally on many counts. By midsummer last year sentiment for organization among the area's 12,000 chenille workers was so widespread that the Textile Workers Union sent in a crew of organizers.

Then the mill owners launched their offensive. The big Lawtex plant required its employes to answer a questionnaire which asked, among other things, their church affiliation. Those replying, "Church of God of the Union Assembly," were fired. Belcraft, largest of the chenille companies, quickly followed suit. Next, the Dalton newspapers, both published by a local leader of the Talmadge machine, opened a six-month campaign against *The Southerner* and its editor. The charge was that he and two contributors to the newspaper had Communist records and thus constituted a "subversive" threat to Dalton.

THE LOCAL veterans organization quickly got into the act. The VFW post held a meeting on "undesirable citizens" at which the drafter of Georgia's new anti-Communist law explained its workings. Top-flight McCarthyite and American Legion "expert" on communism, Edgar C. Bundy of Illinois, entered the picture. Claiming that he had just been "passing through" when he saw West's name in the papers, Bundy told a grand jury that the name "rang a bell" for him. He recalled that several years before some friends of his, doing undercover work in the Ohio Communist Party, had mentioned West to him as "a dangerous man." A few days later, on the way back from his triumph over UNESCO at the Miami convention of the American Legion, Bundy again stopped here to address a meeting sponsored by the local Legion and VFW posts. The speech has been rebroadcast several times on the radio.

Rumors of impending mob action against West grew so strong that even the editor of the two Dalton papers became alarmed, urging that action should be left to the grand jury. Even so, the plate-glass window of *The Southerner* was smashed.

Called before the grand jury, West refused on grounds of the Fifth Amendment to answer political and some personal questions. On January 6 the grand jury, despite three months of investigation, could find nothing on which to justify an indictment. It adjourned, urging its successor to continue the probe and calling for federal help. At this juncture the Dalton *News* devoted a six-page supplement to attacking West and his paper.

Up to this point Reverend Charlie Pratt, the seventy-six-year-old founder of the church, whose word therein is law, withstood the storm. But beyond the direct attack on West, the minister faced other problems. Local banks refused to grant further credit to the numerous business establishments run by his church (restaurant, motel, gas station, super-market, chain of auction houses, three farms, etc.). On January 10 Reverend Pratt told West and ministers of his church that at 2 A. M. the previous night "the Lord woke me up and talked to me about communism." Pratt had awakened his wife and dictated to her a non-Communist oath to be taken by all his ministerial colleagues. He had then phoned the county prosecutor and asked him to administer the oath at the next church services. West objected that this was giving in to pressure, but agreed to take the oath to preserve church unity.

Three days later the county prosecutor entered the church where heretofore his name had been execrated for his efforts to convict the director of the union drive and eight local leaders of a small strike. He was accompanied by the editor of the Dalton *News* and Dalton *Citizen*. One hundred and four ministers and officials of the Church of God marched onto the big stage to be sworn. Speaking into the mike (the proceedings were broadcast), the prose-

(Continued on page 168)

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1956
VOLUME 182, NUMBER 8

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Inept Democratic Leadership

The country can be grateful that the Democratic leaders in Congress created such a tempting political opportunity for the Republicans that the President was induced to veto a measure he might otherwise have signed. But this is about the only aspect of the natural-gas scandal for which the Democratic Party is entitled to the nation's gratitude. The bill was proposed by Democrats. It was passed by a Congress controlled by the Democratic Party. It was maneuvered through Congress by those artful parliamentary jugglers, Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senator Lyndon Johnson, both of whom had staked their prestige on its passage. This same Democratic leadership is also directly responsible for the bipartisan chicanery by which Senators Johnson and Knowland, with a timely assist from Vice-President Nixon, acted with lightning-like speed to prevent a thorough investigation of oil-and-gas contributions to Senatorial campaign funds. On the natural-gas issue, the Democrats could hardly look worse. The only way in which they can recover some ground they have lost is to back Senator Gore's proposal for a thorough investigation of the effect of campaign contributions on legislation.

Montgomery Boycott: New Phase

The latest official attempt to beat down the three-month-old boycott of city buslines by the Negro residents of Montgomery, Alabama, is to unleash a grand-jury investigation under color of an ancient state anti-labor law. Circuit Judge Eugene B. Carter told a panel of seventeen whites and one Negro on February 13 that "the right to conduct one's business without wrongful interference of others is a valuable property right which will be protected, if necessary, by injunctive process." He cited a statute, passed in 1921 for the purpose of breaking a miners' strike in Birmingham, which reads:

> Two or more persons who, without a just cause or legal excuse for so doing, enter into any combination, conspiracy, agreement, arrangement or understanding for the purpose of hindering, delaying, or preventing any other persons, firms, corporation . . . from carrying on any lawful business shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

The status of this law is rather murky; a second part of it, outlawing picketing, was specifically voided by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Carter declared that if the bus boycott were illegal it must be brought to an end. And, in a clear reference to the Negro pastors who have served as spokesmen for the boycotters, his six-page charge said: "The doctrine of hate has no place here and particularly has no place in our churches." (Recently, at the Methodist church he attends, Judge Carter sponsored—and saw passed—a resolution barring Negroes from the premises except in the performance of janitorial duties.) But perhaps the most intriguing of his remarks was his assertion to the jurors that "no court, whether it be federal court, state court or city court, can interfere with your deliberations. You are the supreme inquisitorial body." This aroused speculation that the Justice Department may have indicated an interest in the proceedings, and that the prosecutors themselves may face prosecution for infringement on civil rights if indictments are brought. Or again, Carter may have been only expressing the rancor and disquiet shared by several Southern judges at the recent F. B. I. investigation into the methods of selecting juries in a county in Georgia.

On February 18 one of the two Negro attorneys in Montgomery was indicted. He is charged with having acted without the consent of a plaintiff in the federal suit he filed challenging the constitutionality of transit segregation laws. At press time other indictments seem certain, and the problem of obtaining adequate legal counsel for possible defendants looms as large as the inevitable costs of court action.

Khrushchev and the H-Bomb

Next week's issue will contain an extended analysis of Nikita Khrushchev's seven-hour marathon speech setting forth the new Communist Party line—an intensely interesting and highly significant document. Without attempting to anticipate what Alexander Werth and Paul Wohl will have to say about the speech and its implications, one item warrants immediate comment if only because it was buried in the news (perhaps for the reason that it was also buried in the speech). This is the reference to a ban on H-bomb tests. It will be recalled that the Soviet offer of last year to ban tests referred, in a rather general way, to "nuclear" tests, which might include both atomic and hydrogen bombs. Now the Soviets propose a specific ban on H-bomb tests even before an East-West agreement on general disarmament. Since Khrushchev now refers to "thermonuclear" tests, and makes it clear that he is talking about hydrogen bombs, one of the major West-

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ern objection to the earlier Soviet proposal has been removed. In view of this development, the West would be well advised to suspend this spring's proposed tests in the Pacific at least until this latest Soviet offer has been thoroughly explored.

Westinghouse Says "Nyet"

Westinghouse Electric has spurned the fact-finding procedure recommended by the governors of five states as a possible means of settling the 125-day strike of some 55,000 employees. (*The Nation,* November 19, 1955, page 437). Management is afraid Mr. James E. Carey, spokesman for the striking I. U. E., might turn the hearings to political advantage. The explanation is strictly on the silly side; there is no reason why Mr. Carey should agree to remain silent during the fact-finding sessions, which might be protracted. The circumstance in itself is evidence that Westinghouse is determined not to settle except upon its own terms.

The strike is having disastrous consequences for scores of communities, for the unions involved and for some 40,000 Westinghouse white-collar employees who have been furloughed on an alternate week basis—work-a-week, off-a-week. But despite management's unyielding stand, the strikers have shown a stronger determination to win than might have been expected in view of the fact that the issues were confused by inept leadership. While individual unions have contributed nearly $2,000,000 to the strike, the newly merged labor movement as such has given it little organizational support. Westinghouse plants organized by the machinists and the I. B. E. W.—some 15,000 employees are covered by these agreements—have continued to work. The teamsters, of course, have shown little tendency to respect picket lines. No doubt there is something to be said for the Administration's "hands-off" policy in labor disputes; in this instance, however, it has not been neutral. For example, the Department of Justice moved to have the independent U. E.—one of the striking unions—branded as "Communist-dominated" in a procedure before the Subversive Activities Control Board on the eve of pending negotiations between U. E. and I. U. E. over some type of consolidation or merger. More recently, the Administration announced that Westinghouse had been awarded an $8,000,000 defense contract; the announcement was not calculated to encourage the morale of the strikers.

Spain's Student Revolt . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Paris

FOR THREE successive days students rioted in the streets of Madrid. Police used clubs and fire hoses; shots were fired. Several persons were injured, one seriously. The authorities were finally forced to close the University of Madrid—at first for a "few days," then for an "indefinite" period. At this writing, classes have finally been reopened except in the law school in downtown Madrid.

The street rioting has been ascribed generally to student dissatisfaction with the Falangist University Syndicate, which has failed to support widespread demands for improved conditions in the universities.

So much of the story has reached the headlines. But behind this story is another, told to me by three University of Madrid students who have just arrived in Paris, where they hope to continue their studies at the Sorbonne. It is true that the rioting students want better universities; it is also true that they want an organization free from Falangist control. But beyond that—in the words of one of the young men to whom I talked—they are "fed up with Franco."

Even the pro-Falange students are unhappy. It was a Falange student who was most seriously hurt during the street clashes. Near where he was shot his friends put up a poster reading: "Another of the best Falangists has fallen but the party bosses around the *caudillo,* instead of standing ready to die for the cause, think only of making money and salting away their millions outside of Spain. Such is their faith in the movement!"

Not long ago Franco's Minister of Education, Joaquin Ruiz Gimenez, foresaw something of current developments. He said then that the Spanish "ruling classes" (in which he included himself) were "perhaps not sufficiently dynamic and lacked a full understanding of the sufferings of the people." The discovery came a little too late, and in any case Franco did nothing to exploit it. Last week Franco dismissed him from the Cabinet, along with Raiumundo Fernando Cuesta, Minister of Justice and secretary general of the Falange Party. They have been replaced by tougher-minded party men.

The three-day disorders came to a climax on February 9, when 600 anti-Falange students clashed with Falangists returning from a memorial ceremony for one of their "martyrs," the student Montero, who was killed in 1934 by Spanish Communists. Significantly, the battle cry of the anti-Falangist youth was "Long live the F. U. E.!" The initials stand for the Federation of University Students, an organization identified with the progressive student movement since the days of the Spanish monarchy. The federation played a memorable role in the overthrow of the monarchy and again in the defense of the Republic during the Civil War. Many members of the F. U. E. were among the first battalions of militia which contributed to the defense of Madrid along the river Manzanares.

NOW the F. U. E is again a reality, and according to reports from the Spanish border its reemergence is the primary cause of the near-panic which has gripped the Franco regime. The University of Madrid was closed primarily to give police a

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chance to search for the federation's organizers. From all accounts, the place to begin the search should have been in the homes of some of Franco's own high officials, many of whose sons have joined the rebellion. This fact contributes to the dilemma faced by the government. It is easy enough to shoot down rebellious workers; it is not so easy to open fire on students, for among the fallen one might discover a son or a brother.

Gradually the F. U. E. is extending its action to provincial universities. Already reports have been published of demonstrations at the University of Seville. I am told that the University of Barcelona anti-Falangist students are meeting weekly with workers who vary widely in their political ideology—some are Socialists, some Communists, some Anarchists—but who are bound together by their hatred for both Franco and the monarchy. Second only to the defection of the army, an alliance between students and workers could represent the greatest peril to the Franco regime.

DURING the February 9 clash on Madrid's streets, infuriated Falangists attacked a shop which sold American periodicals and newspapers. The American printed matter was torn to shreds, the shop furniture destroyed and an American girl who was in charge was insulted, though not bodily harmed. Perhaps the origin of this curious incident lies in the current Falangist press campaign against the New York *Times* and its Madrid correspondent, Camille M. Cianfarra. The *Times's* editorial on the student disorders enraged the Falangists; and the Washington correspondent of *Arriba*, the official Falange organ, has been unremitting in his attack on Cianfarra's reports from Spain.

Franco's press and radio have been further enraged by the generally sympathetic foreign reaction to the students' revolt. Spain's anti-Falangist youth knows that it can count on the support of the students of France and of much of Latin America, including the powerful Argentine student body which played an important role in Peron's downfall. Adding to the regime's discomforture is the rising tide of complaints from the Protestants of Switzerland, Scandinavia and Great Britain at the recent closing of Spain's last Protestant school, "*El Porvenir.*"

It is clear that under the impact of the student revolt, the Falange Party is itself beginning to splinter. The arrest of seven prominent Falangists, including the noted film director Bardem, has been publicized; many other arrests have been taking place quietly. In European chancelleries, at least, diplomats are taking a second look at the heretofore accepted notion that the Franco government, for all its faults, is one of the most stable in the world.

"People's Capitalism"

By Edgar Kemler

Washington

WHEN will our tycoons learn that they will never be as popular as movie stars on the world stage? Everywhere he went last year on his Eisenhower "traveling fellowship," Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council, heard the tycoons who have sponsored his anti-forest fire and other public-service campaigns, pilloried as "dirty capitalists." He mused that by comparison with the so-called "people's commissars," who have tried and failed to give Russia the high living standard that the tycoons have given America, they should be called "people's capitalists." Unfortunately, the more Mr. Repplier exalts the tycoons' anarchic achievements, the more he demeans the government which is supposed to hold the whip hand over them. This is the trap which Defense Secretary Wilson blundered into with his "What's good for General Motors is good for the United States." Ignoring that precedent, President Eisenhower has not merely embraced "people's capitalism" but has made it the keynote of the United States Information Agency's 1956 overseas-propaganda campaign.

An exhibit that will convey this highly questionable doctrine to Tokyo, Calcutta and Western Europe is now open for public inspection in Union Station, Washington. It consists of a 7,000-square-foot, three-dimensional mock-up and shows how an American iron worker lived in 1776 without washing machines, electric stoves or television and how his steelworker descendant lives today with all such benefits installed in a $12,000 prefabricated home. Also it shows how one man's nail output has been increased from twenty-five to 16,000 an hour—with a free package of modern nails given to each visitor. "Capitalism Made the Difference," says the caption; "Science Also Helped," says another caption.

As to "the people," their role would appear to have been largely passive. That is to say, while capitalism gave them the right to join unions and to strike for higher wages, there are (unsurprisingly) no displays showing them actually engaged in such a strike. When they did get higher wages, it was because of capitalism's ever increasing "efficiency." This was at the turn of the century, when "class lines began to disappear," when "almost everybody became a capitalist" with "more leisure for cultural development," etc, etc.

A representative of George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, corrected the Advertising Council's distortion of our labor history at the exhibit's opening ceremony. But his protest was mild compared with the probable reaction abroad. For Asians, "people's capitalism" might mean our 180-year economic history compressed into forty or fifty years. But would this be worth the loss in self-respect which is here suggested as the price of the deal? Furthermore, by overstating American complacency, are we not throwing away common aspirations between Americans and Asians?

ACCORDING to a story now circulating in Washington, Burma's Prime Minister U Nu commented on the "people's capitalism" phrase: "Capitalism is an unpleasant word in Asia. If you want to popularize your economy, why not call it the New Deal?" Theodore Streibert, chief of the U. S. I. A., admits that in the present exhibit there is too much capitalism and too little "people." The single Presbyterian church depicted will soon be supplemented

EDGAR KEMLER covers Washington for The Nation.

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by churches of rival denominations, as Eisenhower himself has suggested, and Negroes will be shown mingling among whites.

Considering to what extent Russia's brutally revolutionary appeal has put us on the defensive in Asia, it seems incredible that we should now be sending this lethal dose of conservatism to the same area. The best explanation is that this exhibit, like most of our other foreign pronouncements, is dispatched with one ear cocked for domestic reaction. In this case, the audience would seem to be the Republican tycoons who support the Advertising Council—and who regard world politics as a kind of private struggle between themselves and their commissar opposites in Russia. In this simplified world picture, any third party to the struggle, including the Democrats who oppose them, must necessarily be linked with Communists—an idea that crops up in Republican circles quite often at election times.

PIPELINE TO DISASTER

Oil and the Middle East . . . *by Jon Kimche*

London

FORGET FOR a moment the familiar Middle East with its Arabs, Jews, Foreign Office, State Department, defense pacts and incidents. Turn instead to a foggy evening last December at the Institution of Production Engineers in Chesterfield Street, W.1., in the heart of London's West End. There Dr. G. H. Daniel of the Ministry of Fuel and Power revealed the springs of the long-range British Middle East policy without once mentioning either the Middle East or politics. What he talked about was Great Britain's present and future oil needs. Britain's current consumption is 22,000,000 tons per year. In 1960 it will be, Dr. Daniel calculated, almost double—40,000,000 tons. By 1970 it will be almost threefold that of 1955—61,000,000 tons.

And here we can leave Dr. Daniel. He has told us enough.

We can now turn to the "Trade Accounts" of the United Kingdom for 1955. The final totals are not yet ready, but, roughly, British imports of crude oil from the Middle East in 1955 amounted to £175,000,000—80 per cent of Britain's crude-oil imports. According to Dr. Daniel's calculation, based on 1955 costs, the United Kingdom will have to import some £400,000,000 worth of crude oil in five years' time, of which at least £300,000,000 worth (but probably more) will have to come from Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabi and the Persian Gulf states.

Middle East oil, in fact, has become as vital to British economy as Welsh coal. Within five years, the Middle East will be equalling in importance the traditional coalmines on which, for a century or more, the foundations of British economy have rested. And almost all this crude oil comes to Britain through the Suez Canal. In 1954, 20,000,000 tons of Britain's oil—70 per cent—came through the canal. This traffic is scheduled to increase hugely over the next five years.

Here, then, you have the basis of Britain's long-range (and short-term) economic—and Middle East—policy: The maintenance of the flow of Middle East oil through the Suez Canal. This has nothing directly to do with the oil companies, or with huge profits and royalties. It is a matter of basic economic need. There is nothing intrinsically improper or reprehensible in this—even though successive British governments, Labor and Conservative, seem to have been curiously shy of admitting the extent of British dependence on Middle East oil for its economic well-being.

Nor, for that matter, is only Britain involved; the whole of Western Europe is similarly placed. For one of the consequences of the Marshall Plan was the development of a vast European refinery network which now depends for 90 per cent of its supplies on Middle East oil. Western Europe last year imported 30,000,000 tons of crude oil from the Middle East out of its total crude imports of 100,000,000 tons—an increase of 300 per cent in five years.

There is yet a third aspect which is only now developing. New refineries have been constructed, and are still being erected, in Aden, Southeast Asia and Japan. These depend primarily on Arabian and Iranian crude oil for their supply, while India and Pakistan rely on the refineries in Arabia, Iran and Aden for their petroleum needs.

Thus there is an essential community of interest between the United Kingdom, Western Europe and a number of major Asian countries in the fundamental approach to Middle East problems. The degree of interest varies naturally with the degree of direct influence they can exercise on the region. Both the awareness of the importance of the Middle East and the extent of direct influence is clearly greatest with the British. It has become a dominant feature of British political thinking since the end of the war. Behind the indecision and partisanship of British policy in the Middle East since 1945 there lies a haunting preoccupation with the future of Britain's oil supply—a matter of life and death for this nation.

Precisely during the years when British economy became so hopelessly dependent on the Middle East, Great Britain's influence on the region in terms of direct political and economic control was declining. One facet of this trend was the changing relationship of British and American oil interests. In 1945, the British-Dutch interests still controlled 80 per cent of the Middle East's oil pro-

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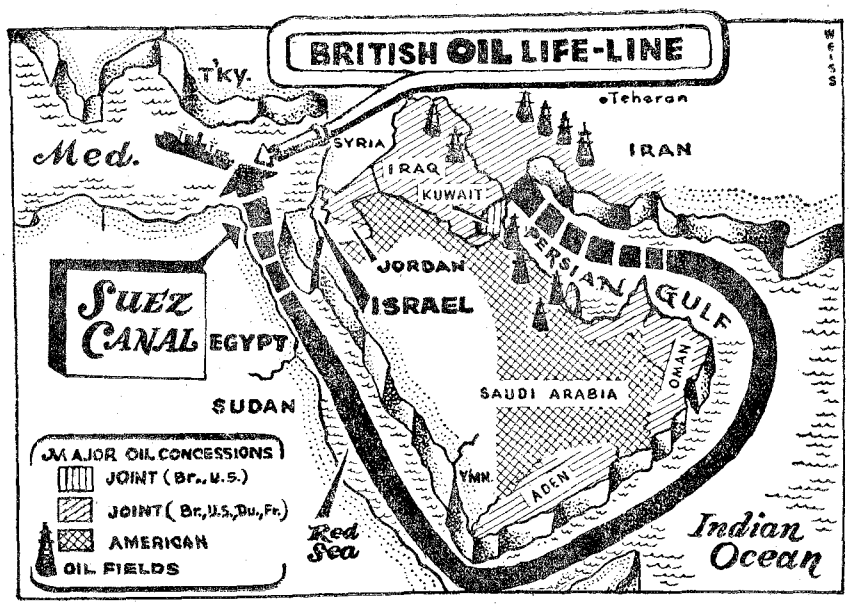
duction; American interests controlled only 15 per cent. In 1955, the U. S. oil companies controlled 54 per cent of the much larger output (161,000,000 tons as against 26,000,000 tons in 1945) while British-Dutch control had dropped from 80 per cent to 30 per cent. Simultaneously with this loosening of Great Britain's economic hold over Middle East oil came the loosening of its political and military grip: the withdrawals from Palestine, Iran and Egypt, and now also from the Sudan; the uncertain relationship with Iraq and Jordan; the all but open hostility of Saudi Arabia.

Meanwhile the growing American interest was reflected in yet another way. At the end of World War II, American oil investment in the Middle East was unimportant. Ten years later it had overtaken that of the British-Dutch interests and exceeded a billion dollars. Washington's grants and credits to the region accounted for an additional billion.

With this changing order there developed a profound difference in the assessment by the American oil companies and by the British government of their Middle East problems. The Americans wanted a normal smooth business association which would enable them to exploit the petroleum at a profit. The British, looking ahead, wanted to ensure conditions that would enable them to have some direct physical control over these invaluable sources of a vital raw material. Their interest was more political than commercial.

But this British proposition became increasingly difficult as the American oil companies, growing more powerful, began themselves to set the pace in oil politics. The conflict reached its rueful climax, in British eyes, during the period of office at the State Department of George G. McGhee. In the pursuit of buying goodwill for the American oil companies and the United States generally, it is said here, McGhee encouraged the Iranians and Egyptians to increase their demands against the British to the point where London had to give way. Other American officials are also named, but what is important is that there was throughout these postwar years a difference of basic objective between the British and the Americans. So much is at stake for Great Britain—and for Western Europe—that the whole question takes on the aspect of national survival; to Americans, the problem is merely one facet of the international oil business, with its inevitable competition and rivalries. Before every British government looms the forecasts of Dr. Daniel—40,000,000 tons needed by 1960 and 60,000,000 by 1970. How is Britain to get them?



ONE LESSON of the past decade of oil relations is that the more backward the political and economic level of an oil-bearing country, the fewer are the political complications of exploitation. Kuwait is one example; Qatar another. Iraq, on the other hand, is rich in oil and in probable political complications. What other untapped sources are there? Buraimi would be an ideal addition to the British sources of supply. The British could not pass by this chance, even at the price of a dispute with Aramco, King Saud and the State Department. The more exposed the British position becomes, the less can the Eden government afford to adopt the more refined ways of holding on.

This utterly dependent British position is naturally a grave liability to British diplomacy, and indeed to Western policy in general. For Britain's need for Middle East oil makes it a sitting victim for the demands of every pressure group that can threaten to interfere with its supply, be it the Arab League or an Arab government, an American oil company, or the new Soviet policy. Here is a critical situation that requires drastic measures and original thinking. Yet, there appears to be not much evidence of either.

The other day one of the more knowledgeable Foreign Office officials remarked wistfully to me, how much easier Britain's position in the Middle East would have been had it not been complicated by the establishment of Israel, which has bedeviled all Arab-British relations during the past seven years. It was a significant remark, reflecting much current Foreign Office thinking on the Middle East. It is the backdrop to Sir Anthony Eden's Guildhall proposals: that British policy can only be developed fully once the complicating Israel-Arab dispute has been set aside and settled.

It seems to me that this has become the fundamental fallacy of current British and American policies in the Middle East. A settlement of the Israel-Arab dispute will settle nothing beyond Israel-Arab differences. It will not, as the British government seems to believe, either improve Anglo-Arab relationships or remove the difficulties in a way of a guaranteed flow of Middle East oil supplies to Europe. An Arab-Israel settlement at the expense of Israel—for that is the only kind of settlement that is feasible at present, even if Israel's "sacrifice" were more apparent than real—would only increase British dependence on the Arab world and would merely increase the insecurity of the Middle East oil supply to Western Europe and especially to the United Kingdom.

The real problem child of the Middle East, the modern version of

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the "sick man of Europe," is not Israel but Great Britain and all Western Europe—so long as they remain so dangerously dependent on Middle East oil and Arab goodwill.

It may be that the only answer lies in finding alternative supplies of oil, at least temporarily. This would make possible the working out of a new Western relationship with the Middle East uninhibited by the fears of possible Arab sanctions against Europe's oil supplies.

At present we have private business, the oil needs of Western Europe and parts of Asia, authoritarian rulers and local popular discontents creating a hopeless mixup of rival interests—an almost perfect setting in which the Russians can embarrass the West. If this goes on, the next battle of Waterloo might easily be lost on the oil fields of Iraq and Kuwait.

DOLLAR-AN-HOUR MINIMUM

Unions and the Law . . . *by James E. Youngdahl*

IF you have been earning seventy-five cents an hour on your job, this new minimum wage will mean that you will get $10.00 more per week or more than $500.00 additional per year. . . . Keep in mind that this is obtained without outside assistance, and you don't have to pay union dues or assessments." That was Rainfair, Inc., a garment manufacturer, writing to its non-union employees in Wynne, Arkansas.

"Your own duly elected Senators and Congressmen are responsible for the new minimum-wage law, and no one else," said the Phillips-Jones Corporation to its 250 Van Heusen shirtmakers in Brinkley, Arkansas. "Furthermore, you did not have to pay your money in fees to some union organizer in order to get it." (About half of the Brinkley Phillips-Jones workers and all the Wynne Rainfair workers are represented by E. C. "Took" Gathings, the only Congressman from Arkansas who voted against the dollar-minimum bill.)

Rainfair and Phillips-Jones, both Northern corporations that recently have found Southern hospitality and production costs amenable to business aims, are using the newest weapon from the anti-union arsenal of Southern manufacturers: the dollar-an-hour minimum-wage law passed by Congress last July and effective March 1. That the Fair Labor Standards Act, as the law is called, should be used as an anti-union device is an indication of the variety of consequences of the new legislation, which creates new perspectives on some sensitive and controversial aspects of the nation's economy.

In the face of the fact that new organization is the primary program of the new AFL-CIO, and that any statutory wage increase tends to undercut organizational appeal to non-union workers, support by labor organizations for the new law was surprisingly uncompromising. The unions with jurisdiction most affected by sub-standard manufacturers took the lead in the fight for an increased minimum. The four major organizations in the needle trades—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Textile Workers Union of America, and United Hatters, Cap, and Millinery Workers International Union—put aside historic personality clashes and jurisdictional disputes to create an effective demonstration of labor unity. Major portions of the treasuries of small union locals were spent sending local members to Washington to present to Congressmen the case for a raise in the minimum wage.

THE ARGUMENTS for an increase had a strong foundation. Corporation income in the second quarter of 1955 was up 26 per cent over the second quarter of 1954, as compared with a rise in the average weekly wage of only 7 per cent. The wage-hour act began in 1938 with a minimum of twenty-five cents an hour; it was up to thirty cents the following year; up to forty by 1945. By last summer five and one-half years had passed since the last increase to seventy-five cents an hour. The established pattern of periodically raising the minimum to conform to increased productivity and higher prices dictated a substantial boost. Any disagreement among the major political leaders was only on the amount; the dollar figure was acceptable even to some of the outfielders on the Presidential "team."

Influential objection to the new minimum, however, was considerable. The Democratic chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, Graham A. Barden, with a North Carolina textile constituency, was accused of keeping the bill in committee for many months. *Newsweek's* Henry Hazlitt editorialized:

> But if ever a measure was unnecessary and ill-timed, this one is. The increase in minimum wages is being enacted at a time when wages in manufacturing industries average $1.87 an hour—at the highest level in American or world history.

There was potent opposition from the industries directly affected. The Southern lumber industry faces an 18 per cent increase in labor costs as a result of paying at least a dollar an hour to its 171,000 workers. In the highly competitive needle-trades industries, the raise will mean at least a temporary loss of the market edge that low labor costs give to Southern non-union manufacturers. The persuasive power of the entrepreneurs opposing the change is illustrated by what happened in a Louisiana clothing plant in 1949. The owner made a speech to his employees before he left for Wash-

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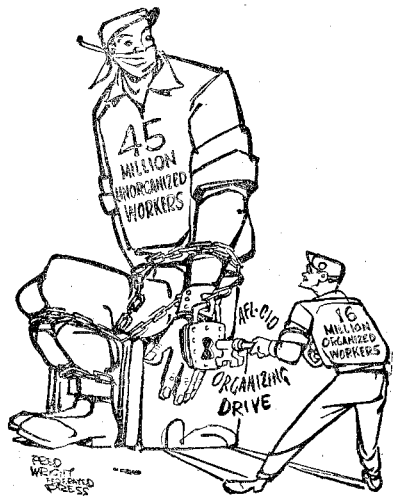
ington to lobby against the increase of the minimum to seventy-five cents. Upon the completion of his talk, in which he had told how he was going to save the workers' jobs by trying to keep their wages from going up, the employees gave him a thunderous ovation, and took up a collection from their fifty-cent-an-hour wages to put flowers in his Pullman drawing-room to lighten the arduous journey to Washington.

A substantial number of workers will get more money as a result of the new law. This, of course, is particularly true of the newly industrialized South. It is estimated that 28.2 per cent of all production workers in manufacturing plants in the region from Delaware south to Florida and west to Texas have been getting less than a dollar an hour. (This compares with 8 per cent in the Northeast, 4.1 per cent in the Middle West, and 1.8 per cent in the Far West.) A total of about 2,100,000 workers (out of 24,000,000 covered by the act) are due raises averaging thirteen cents an hour under the new legislation.

A LOOK INTO the men's cotton-garment industry reveals both the degree of the industrial changes created by the new law, and its relationship to union organization. There are about 66,000 employees in the work-clothing industry; 67 per cent of them were getting under one dollar an hour at the time the new legislation was passed. Similarly, 46 per cent of the 89,000 workers in the shirt plants of the nation must have their wages raised to at least one dollar, even considering that the sub-standard percentage is weighted down by the unionized and relatively high-paying shirt centers in New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1949 and 1950, the Department of Labor did a study of the men's dress-shirt and nightwear industry, revealing the changes in earnings resulting from the seventy-five-cent minimum that probably will be paralleled this year. According to James F. Walker of the Division of Labor Statistics: "In 1949, occupational averages in union plants were much higher than those in non-union plants. Establishment of the seventy-five-cent minimum [on January 25, 1950], however, tended to decrease the differential, but by November, 1950, it was as great, and in some



cases greater, than in 1949." Definite conclusions from the Department of Labor statistics are questionable, because between March and November, 1950, there was a general rise in the economy due in part to the outbreak of the Korean War. Nevertheless, there should be some value in the relationships revealed.

The temporary nature of the effect of a raised minimum on the difference between union and non-union wages is due to the pressure for increases within union plants which is created by the new minimum. For this reason the improvement in the competitive position that "union-scale" manufacturers receive from a raised minimum must be exploited within a few months, before the demands of their unionized workers for restoration of the differential are translated into contract terms.

Many companies are quick to use minimum-wage legislation, which they had themselves opposed, as a weapon against the unions who spent time and money to get it passed. The legislated wage is most effective as an anti-union device when it is combined with other campaign strategy. Threats and coercion are the prime weapons, and when they have been used with sufficient impact, the employer shows his concern for the rights of his terrified employees by promising the raise to the new legal minimum. Often, in small Southern towns, garment manufacturers can get the local Chamber of Commerce or industrial-development organization to carry on the program of threats and force, with company officials stepping in at the right psychological time with a generous offer to comply with the law.

The offer of a dollar an hour by the beneficent Van Heusen management at Brinkley, Arkansas, apparently was not enough to dull the ardor of all the union supporters. A few days after the company's dollar-an-hour promise was made, a group of men forced their way into the apartment of the two women organizers in the middle of the night, telling them to "get out of town . . . or else!" At W. Shanhouse Sons, another Arkansas firm recently departed from the North, a long anti-union campaign had little or no effect on a union drive. But the day before a National Labor Relations Board election, the posting of newspaper headlines telling of Congressional passage of the new minimum was sufficient to beat the union.

An effective program of intimidation by a company can reduce workers to irrational robots who are especially receptive to the promise of a raise to the new minimum. Sometimes even more can be done. An Arkansas pants maker, working for seventy-five cents, was asked by a union attorney in an injunction hearing if she thought she needed an increase in pay. She replied in the negative. The lawyer asked what she would do when she received the twenty-five-cent-an-hour boost as a result of the new minimum wage; she said that she would return the quarter to the company.

THREE-QUARTERS of all garment workers are on a piece-work system. With a 33 per cent increase in wages, many firms will require 33 per cent more work by raising production quotas. If an operator cannot meet the "speedup" she can easily be replaced, as most Southern manufacturers have a permanently available labor pool of farm wives who are longing for "public work." Further, replacements can be hired at "learners' rates"; the Southern Garment Manufacturers Association and the Pacific Garment Manufacturers are proposing that new learners' regulations start sewing operators at seventy cents an hour.

A management engineer writing in the *Southern Garment Manufacturer* put the matter bluntly. Posing a series of questions for study by manufacturers, he ends with what he describes as the most important: "Have I eliminated makeup at present, and are my operators perform-

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ing above the new no-makeup point?" Makeup-pay is the difference between the legal minimum and what an operator earns through company production rates and quotas. The "new no-makeup point," then, is the raised production level that management creates as a result of having to pay the new minimum.

Here is a field in which minimum-wage legislation should boost unionization drives. The push for more production will inevitably result in discontent and encourage interest in unions. Unions and manufacturers alike seem to be preparing for a period of industrial ferment in the unorganized garment industry. Companies are better coordinated to resist union efforts; unions are responding. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for example, is distributing 150,000 leaflets on the effects of the law to non-union workers in the South and Southwest. It can be assumed that the pattern in other industries affected by the dollar minimum will be the same.

The next few months should reveal if it will be the open-shop manufacturers or the unions, in the context of the AFL-CIO organizing drive, that can make more effective use of the new law. The struggle will involve some of the major soft spots of Southern trade unionism.

JUSTICE HUGO BLACK

Still Dissenting at 70 . . . *by Charles A. Madison*

JUSTICE Hugo L. Black, who will reach his seventieth year on February 27, is no longer the controversial figure he was in 1937 when President Roosevelt appointed him to the Supreme Court. Then the selection as Justice of this dynamic liberal Senator, who as chairman of the Lobbying Activities Committee had matched wits with the shrewdest lawyers and industrialists in the land and made himself anathema to opponents of the New Deal, was met with vociferous denunciation. The *Herald Tribune* declared editorially that his activity on the committee "revealed such an utter lack of judicial spirit, such a complete scorn of constitutional restraints as would make ascent to the Supreme Court a national tragedy." Both liberals and conservatives also attacked him as a one-time member of the Ku Klux Klan. It looked indeed as if Roosevelt had made a grievous error. But soon Justice Black's cogently reasoned opinions, and even more his incisive dissents—which placed the social good above legal precedent—silenced even his severest detractors. Paul Y. Anderson expressed a not uncommon sentiment when he wrote in *The Nation:* "Time may prove that the most brilliant single stroke of the Roosevelt Administration was the appointment of Hugo L. Black to the Supreme Court." Few will now question the fulfillment of this prophecy.

Justice Black assumed his place on the bench determined to follow what he believed was the original intent of the Constitution—that of furthering individual rights and the general welfare. A Jeffersonian liberal, tough-minded and courageous, he felt no particular respect for the niceties of either juristic precedent or encrusted custom. As the first New Dealer on a conservative court he boldly challenged the reasoning of the majority in their interpretation of certain key phrases of the Constitution. He was particularly eager to question the court's rationalization of the traditional due process of law until it became no longer a matter of formal procedure, as originally designed, but a matter of "substance."

HIS FIRST dissents criticized the majority's rulings concerning the prerogatives of states in the field of economic regulation. Here he acted not so much the strict constructionist as the economic liberal. Yet this was only one aspect of his main effort to safeguard the rights and privileges of the ordinary citizen. Remembering his own experiences as Alabama police judge and district attorney and no doubt mindful of the criticism of his Klan membership, he was particularly sensitive to the mistreatment of Southern Negroes. "The Fourteenth Amendment," he maintained, "requires that equal protection to all must be given—not merely promised."

Chambers et al v. *Florida* in 1940 contains perhaps the most celebrated of Justice Black's early opinions on civil rights. With the complexion of the court altered by several new Roosevelt appointees, he was able to speak for the majority. In a review of the evidence he affirmed that the confessions elicited under duress violated the very essence of individual liberty. Yet he was not satisfied merely to reverse the convictions. He took this opportunity to speak out firmly and formally against the maltreatment of Negroes in the South and against the use of third-degree methods by police officials:

> No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this court, than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed or persuasion.

His insistence on the broad interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment came to a head in 1947 in *Adamson* v. *California.* In a long and learned dissent, joined by Justice Douglas, he reviewed in detail the court's interpretation of the amendment from the time of the *Slaughterhouse* case in 1873 to the *Twining* case in 1908 and pointed out that "the power of legislatures

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became what this court would declare it to be at a particular time independently of the specific guarantees of the Bill of Rights." In disregarding the plain intent of the amendment in favor of judicial precedent and prejudice, the majority was endangering basic freedoms. Eight years later the effect of this reasoning came into flower with the unanimous ruling of the Court against segregation in the South.

IN A SERIES of cases involving the freedom of religion, Justice Black spoke on the nature of its inviolability with forthright eloquence. Apparently moved for the moment by patriotic impulse, he voted with the majority in the *Gobitis* case against the Jehovah's Witnesses. Not long after, however, he admitted his error in a strong dissenting opinion:

> Certainly our democratic form of government, functioning under the historic Bill of Rights, has a high responsibility to accommodate itself to religious views of minorities, however unpopular and unorthodox these views may be.

On the perplexing problem of religion in relation to the public school, Justice Black was guided by the clear intent of the First Amendment. He held for the majority that a town could provide free bus rides to and from both public and parochial schools, since this service was no different in function from traffic and fire protection. In another case, however, again speaking for the majority, he invalidated an Illinois law which permitted "released time" from school for religious instruction, arguing that "This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public-school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith."

In a number of dissents Justice Black stressed the rights of the individual worker over property rights and union regulation. He took the position that a worker was entitled to compensation in accidents even when he was partly at fault; that a union could picket against non-union workers even when such picketing was detrimental to their employer; that railroad companies could not shirk their responsibilities by specifying exemption on passes given to employees. He spoke for the court majority in maintaining that states could provide that no man was to be deprived of his job because he was not a member of a union; that an injured employee was entitled to full compensation even though he was induced to sign a deceptive settlement; that it was illegal to discriminate against Negroes because of a union agreement; that the United Mine Workers disobeyed the law when it refused to call off a strike after the mines had been taken over by the government; that a union violated a state law in restraint of trade when it induced an ice manufacturer not to sell ice to non-union peddlers. In these and other similar cases his chief concern was to assure justice and fair play to the individual worker, the weak union and the petty merchant.

His insistence on fair treatment and the public good was also evident in a number of his majority opinions and dissents pertaining to business practices, patents, taxes, insurance and similar matters. In several important opinions he spoke for the court in holding powerful corporations guilty of restraint of trade or unfair pricing. When the Associated Press denied admission to the Chicago *Sun,* he ruled that this served to curb the initiative which brought new newspapers into existence and thereby curtailed the system of free enterprise protected by the Sherman Act. In another majority ruling he upheld the prerogative of the government to control prices during wartime.

Believing that the general welfare was best served by the federal government, he favored it over private companies or state claims. When certain individuals sought to limit TVA from acquiring needed land, he spoke for the court in ruling that the provisions of the law implied the power "to acquire lands by purchase or by condemnation." In another majority opinion dealing with state claims to tideland oil, he took the position that in matters of vital importance to the nation the claims of states were inferior to those of the federal government—an opinion later reversed by a more conservative court. However, when President Truman sought in 1952 to avert a nationwide steel strike by an executive order directing the Secretary of Commerce to take over the affected steel plants, Justice Black held that the President had no power to issue such an order and that Congress had in fact specifically denied him such power in labor disputes.

THE JUSTICE regards national security of paramount importance. In time of war he was ready to bend freedom to the country's safety and to tolerate government restraints he considers obnoxious in time of peace. Consequently, in some of his opinions, particularly concerning the Japanese, he was strongly criticized by many liberals. Throughout World War II he went along with the majority of the court, more than once acting as its spokesmen, in condemning spies and Nazi adherents and in upholding military restrictions against citizens of Japanese origin on the Pacific Coast. In several instances, when the majority was inclined toward leniency, he insisted that no fine distinctions be made in cases of treason or disloyalty. Once the danger of invasion was over, however, he held that the law of the land was again supreme. In these opinions he ruled against military tribunals and against the efforts of the state of California to prevent the sale of land or to refuse commercial fishing licenses to Japanese.

When, shortly after the war had ended, government agencies began to deal severely with dissident aliens and Communists, Justice Black sought to prevent their unfair treatment. When the court permitted the deportation of an enemy alien without a hearing, he protested that as a result of this action "individual liberty will be less secure tomorrow than it was yesterday." He wrote a trenchant dissent from another rul-

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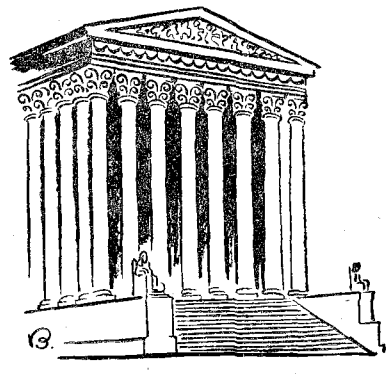
ing that a Communist alien could be kept in jail until his deportability was established.

> I can only say that I regret, deeply regret, that the court now adds the right to bail to the list of other Bill of Rights guarantees that have recently been weakened to expand governmental powers at the expense of individual freedom.

During the past decade he has been sharply critical of the court's numerous opinions in which its traditional concern for the Bill of Rights was relaxed at the expense of Communists and political dissidents. He is sincerely convinced that it is far better to risk subversion on the part of the small Communist minority than to scotch this threat at the cost of the Bill of Rights.

THE years of the cold war brought both known Communists and suspected radicals under the scourge of Congressional investigations, inimical laws and judical bias. The Supreme Court had to deal with the more important cases arising out of this anti-subversive activity. In most instances the majority upheld the decisions of the lower courts. Justice Black, often joined by Justice Douglas and occasionally by Justice Frankfurter, strongly dissented from many of these rulings. In one instance he maintained that for the petitioner to answer questions would have been self-incriminating. "Today's holding creates this dilemma for witnesses: On the one hand, they risk imprisonment for contempt by asserting the privilege prematurely; on the other, they might lose the privilege if they answer a single question." When the Court approved the non-Communist affidavit clause in the Taft-Hartley Act, Justice Black argued in a lone dissent that the ruling rejected the First Amendment—making possible the exclusion of Communists "from getting or holding any job whereby they could earn a living. He added:

> Like anyone else, individual Communists who commit overt acts in violation of valid laws can and should be punished. But the postulate of the First Amendment is that our free institutions can be maintained without proscribing or penalizing political belief, speech, press, assembly, or party affiliation. This is a far bolder philosophy than despotic rulers can afford to follow. It is the heart of the system on which our freedoms rest.



When Chief Justice Vinson sustained the Smith Act and ruled against the eleven Communist leaders on the reasoning that the "clear and present danger" doctrine was not valid "in the context of world crisis after crisis," Justices Black and Douglas dissented spiritedly. They argued that the fathers of the Constitution believed that "the benefits derived from free expression were worth the risk" and that the charge against the petitioners was in fact "a virulent form of prior censorship of press and speech." And Justice Black concluded wistfully:

> Public opinion being what it is now, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times, when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society.

Justice Black's achievement on the Supreme Court has made him our strongest defender of our peacetime civil liberties, our most eloquent advocate of justice and equality. His gracious and urbane personality shelters an inflexible will. Acutely intelligent, intellectually daring, profoundly democratic, he is impatient with encrusted legalisms and forthright in his criticism of class or racial conceit.

His patriotism is a natural expression of his love of country. A pacifist in his youth, he nevertheless enlisted in the army in 1917 because he believed the United States was in danger. No chauvinist, he cherishes the American form of government as the highest phase of political development. And he is jealous of any weakening of our democracy because he wishes America to remain a beacon of liberty for all mankind. He wants our nation to take the lead in making an end to war and aggression. In 1942, when the war was going through its most disheartening period, he boldly spoke of the kind of peace we should be fighting for:

> We must not lose the opportunity this time to win peace for our children. As a nation we have tried isolation, neutrality, bipartisan pacts, tripartisan pacts, balance of power and all the other practices of traditional diplomacy. None of these has averted war. The only thing the world has failed to try is unselfish cooperation among nations. A people with the boldness, imagination and pioneering spirit which gave birth to the United States should be more than willing—and more than able—to take the lead in a cooperative program for permanent peace, a peace which will give reality to the four fundamental freedoms set forth in the Atlantic Charter already adopted as the fighting faith of the United Nations.

The postwar rift between the United States and Soviet Russia, followed by a decade of cold war, truly chilled his spirit and forced him to fight the more zealously for the sanctity of the Bill of Rights.

IN THE history of the Supreme Court Justice Black ranks with its most eminent members. From the very first he established himself as a vigorous and valiant interpreter of the Constitution. Although he often found himself in the minority—many times the lone dissenter—the forcefulness and factuality of his protests had the impact of eventual triumph. Justices Harlan, Holmes and Brandeis were great and influential dissenters, but none was as insistent or as radical as Justice Black. The first New Deal member on a predominantly conservative court, he sought to place the general good above property and precedent. In his dissents he appealed with a power and perspicuity not often heard by his brothers on the bench. And the effect of his reasoning was well described by Chief Justice Holmes in another context:

> A dissent in a court of last resort is an appeal to the brooding spirit of the law, to the intelligence of a future day, when a later decision may possibly correct the error into which the dissenting judge believes the court to have been betrayed.

This future day was hastened by other Roosevelt appointees, and for several years Justice Black spoke more for the court than in dissent. But the Justices named by President

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"Shall I Call This Book a Novel?"

JEAN SANTEUIL. By Marcel Proust. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. Preface by Andre Maurois. Simon and Schuster. $5.95.

By Mina Curtiss

JEAN SANTEUIL, Marcel Proust's first long work, written in the nineties, soon after he left the university, and published in France in 1952, has great importance for one reason. The mere bulk of this 744-page volume of notes and sketches preliminary to *Remembrance of Things Past* should dispel once and for all the public image of Proust which readers of his letters have long known to be untrue. That legendary figure, the frivolous, hypochondriacal social climber and snob who suddenly, because of illness and the shock of his mother's death, abandoned society, shut himself up in a cork-lined room to write the greatest French novel since the *Comedie Humaine,* is canceled by the mere existence of this earlier work. The truth is that no artist ever imposed upon himself a more disciplined apprenticeship; and few writers have had the artistic integrity to recognize the inadequacies in a work of these proportions, the moral strength deliberately to lay it aside and start anew.

But whether *Jean Santeuil,* which resembles a journal or series of letters interspersed with prose poems far more than a novel, should have been published in its present form is also a question of moral values. "Shall I call this book a novel?" Proust asked. "It is something less, perhaps, and yet much more, the very essence of life, with nothing extraneous added. . . . This book of mine has not been manufactured: it has been garnered." As a granary this great compilation will supply grist to the mill of at least two categories of readers. It will be plundered for years to come by candidates for the doctorate of philosophy. The titles of their theses are predictable: "Proper names beginning with S in *Jean Santeuil;*" "Lilacs in the early work of Marcel Proust." Confirmed Proustians will draw a more subtle sustenance from the book.

Reading *Jean Santeuil* is like looking through a memory book kept in school or college: old photographs, letters, dance and theatre programs, an early composition published in the college magazine—souvenirs that evoke whole long-forgotten episodes, some of them now dead or irrelevant, others obviously early manifestations of a continued emotional pattern. Reading *Jean Santeuil* is slow going because the impact of incidents and ideas reported here impel the reader, time and again, to refer to its successor, to contrast or compare the seed with the fruit or the flower. But a seedbed is not a garden or an orchard, and *Jean Santeuil* is an experiment, not a work of art. Perhaps a third of this welter of impressions, this hastily written, unrevised mass of notes, has inherent literary interest. All of it is source material. For even the parts not included or enlarged upon in *Swann* recur in letters, in the introductions and notes to the Ruskin translations, in the preface to Jacques Emile Blanche's *Propos de Peintre.* Yet is it fair to the memory of the author or to the uninstructed reader to publish what is essentially a primary source as though it were a full-fledged novel?

THIS question has certainly caused some qualms of conscience to the editor of Proust's posthumous works. Mr. Bernard de Fallois, after completing the formidable task of deciphering Proust's cramped and difficult handwriting, and of piecing together the thousands of frequently unnumbered pages of *Jean Santeuil,* subsequently edited a shorter volume of *Swann* fragments entitled *Contre Sainte-Beuve.* In the preface to that book he says, "The unpublished work of Marcel Proust does not exist. The word 'end' that he inscribed after the final lines of his book truly and effectively marked its end. The thousands of pages that he consecrated to preparing it were nothing more or less than preparation."

Proust's biographer, a distinguished member of the French Academy, Mr. Andre Maurois, admits in the preface to *Jean Santeuil* that when excerpts of the book first appeared a number of readers protested.

> "Why publish it at all?" they said. "Proust himself decided to consign this version to oblivion, and it is for us to respect his wishes." I think, indeed I am very sure that they are wrong. . . . Because a painter decides to suppress the early studies which he made for a great picture, is that a reason why we should do the same?

The answer is "Certainly not." But what owner of sketches and drawings would think of employing a critic or scholar to make a collage of studies by a master in order to present them as an early version of a great painting? Mr. Maurois' analogy is false. Only the motive of profit can explain the publication of the 744-page posthumous work of a great writer without notes or any account of editorial procedure.

Gallimard, the French publisher, no doubt feels justified in this step since eventually *Jean Santeuil* may be re-issued in the magnificent, scholarly Pleiade edition which includes all the variant readings. But the costliness of this edition precludes further translation and publication in English. Indeed the fact that Proust's more or less official English and American publishers rejected *Jean Santeuil* brings up the problem of whether the book really is translatable.

Mr. Gerard Hopkins is an experienced and conscientious translator. Yet his preface, too, opens on a defensive note. He warns that "English-speaking readers . . . who make their first acquaintance with Proust in the pages of *Jean Santeuil,* may find much of it confusing and confused. In fairness to myself," he adds, "I would point out that not the whole responsibility is mine, but that some part of the burden must be carried by Marcel's ghost." What justification is there, one may ask,

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for burdening the ghost of the writer with any translation at all? The one which we are given is reasonably smooth and readable. The translator has had to labor under the initial handicap of working from a text, often carelessly or badly written in the original, and sometimes inaccurately transcribed. Curiously enough, Mr. Hopkins' translation is best in passages where the French is poorest. In many places where the French is good the looseness and wordiness of the English sends a bilingual reader flying to the original to see whether Proust's ghost can be blamed. Usually he can not. Most of the faults fall into the accepted categories of traps for translators.

Trap I: Awkward circumlocutions that destroy the pace of the writing throughout the book. On page 298 we read, ". . . in him heart was more highly developed than intelligence." The French says, ". . . *il avait plus de coeur que d'intelligence.*" He had more heart than head. Page 657: "She was now using the second person singular as naturally as she had previously used the plural." Why not assume that any reader of Proust is literate enough to grasp the meaning of, "She now called him *tu* as naturally as she had previously been saying *vous*"?

Trap II: False or meaningless homonyms occur a number of times. Because *toucher* in French means both touch and cash a check, the sentence on page 293—"I touched two hundred thousand francs over that deal"—sounds as though the money had slid through Monsieur Marie's fingers, rather than that he had cashed in on the deal.

Trap III: Confusing, unnecessary uses of slang. On page 143 Mr. Hopkins has Jean Santeuil's not at all vulgar great-aunt say to the maid, "You can dish up now." Her words in French are *"Va preparer le dejeuner."* Go and get lunch ready. Anachronistic slang and "elegant variation" join in confusing the reader on page 137. At the end of a long effusion about a camellia tree which Proust repeatedly describes as "superb" and "beautiful," Mr. Hopkins substitutes for the author's *superb* and *bel* "a peach of a tree" and "a wonderful tree"; for beautiful he uses "lovely" and "grand."

Typical of the lack of care in the presentation of this book is the unawareness of the American blurb-writer that, as Mr. Maurois says in his preface, it was in the rue Alfred Dehodencq, at the house of Proust's niece and heir, that the manuscript of *Jean Santeuil* was discovered some eight years ago. The American dust-jacket announces that "the torn and detached pages . . . were found in the shuttered cork-lined room . . . where Marcel Proust used to live." Shortly after Proust's death in 1922 all of his property, including the manuscripts, was removed from 44 rue Hamelin where he spent the last three years of his life. His papers remained in oblivion until shortly after the second World War. In the interval, some of his letters and a number of the notebooks in which *Jean Santeuil* was written fell into the hands of a collector outside the family.

Since Proust's ghost has already been conjured up by his translator, it is not, perhaps, disrespectful to fancy him smiling to himself over those missing notebooks which might well have helped to give to *Jean Santeuil* the coherence it so frequently lacks. Even so, if this mass of material had been presented in a form similar to Henry James's *Note Books,* if it had been given the careful, loving editing that Mr. Mattheissen and Mr. Murdock lavished on that book, *Jean Santeuil* would serve as one of the great elucidations of the development of the creative process. As it stands, this early version of *Remembrance of Things Past* is of value only to confirmed Proustians. Any reader not yet initiated into the splendors of Proust's masterpiece might well be turned away from it forever by this preliminary, concocted version.

Hurrah for What?

THE LAST HURRAH. By Edwin O'Connor. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

By Kate Simon

THIS EXUBERANT novel is a wake for the passing of a gaudy dinosaur. Frank Skeffington, for whom "the last hurrah" is shouted, is a colorful man painted larger than life, and the author mourns him, looking out of a vapid conformist present to a gone era of high excitement.

The era was the pre-F. D. R. recent past and the excitement derived from the eccentric personalities, the unabashed sentiments, the exultant trickery and the adulation surrounding a political leader of the Irish in a city which might easily be Boston. The leader, Skeffington, is mayor of the city and now, after forty years of being kingpin, is again running for re-election. Being a manipulator rather than a thinker, a personality rather than a steady constructive force, his long reign has been marked by the vagaries and improvisations of paternalism. And because paternalism has gone out of local government and help is now offered as a due right administered by impersonal agencies, Skeffington's functions have become obsolete and he is defeated. His defeat and death mark the extinction of his species—not only his particular mold, but the mold of the Irish-Americans whose minority isolation bound them to their leaders with intense undeviating loyalty. Now they are melded with the majority in following the treacly lure of television-machined ciphers (embellished with cute babies and docile dogs) who defeat the Skeffingtons.

The Last Hurrah has some qualities of the historical novel. It is nostalgic for a richer time and its structure is that of a pageant. Skeffington, the giant, trails an entourage of small bright figures, each designed to set off still another facet of the old man. The sly, truculent Garvey elicits Skeffington's mordant wit, the banker Cass evokes his talent for revenge and chicanery, the widow Minihin helps display his generosity, and so on. These subsidiary portraits are richer in surface than depth, but worked with reportorial skill and an affectionate ear for spirited Irish talk. The historical tone of the novel is further enforced by the fact that the politician of Skeffington's pattern was a sort of folk hero, not only to his constituents but to Mr. O'Connor as well. He was Robin Hood, with the small difference that the

KATE SIMON has reviewed fiction for The New Republic, *the Philadelphia* Inquirer *and elsewhere. She is on the staff of* Publishers' Weekly.

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largesse for the poor came from his own pocket—or seemed to. He was the kind, wise father who lectured the truant and rewarded effort. He was the shaman who solved problems and offered vaudeville shows in addition. And he was the tribal leader who shared the same roots with his people, showed the same characteristics and, being successful, was an idealized self-portrait of themselves.

MR. O'CONNOR very likely knows better, but he has been seduced by his own character into treating him as admirable which he is not, for all his humor and poise and even occasional grandeur. His essential drive is mean: it is to outwit by any maneuver his companion scramblers to the top, and no matter how the author smothers it in gushes of admiration and funny stories and splashes of color, that drive is almost the whole man. Is the passing of such a figure to be so deplored? Even if the post-Skeffington politician is often a puppet with a void for face and brain, there must be something better than the mismanagement and sharp-dealing so lightly glossed over in the novel, the hypocrisy and crookedness heartily blown away by an Irish guffaw.

The Tiresome Turncoat

MR. HAMISH GLEAVE. By Richard Llewellyn. Doubleday and Company. $3.95.

By Merle Miller

A VERY GREAT professor of English literature once told me—told me and twenty-nine other enthralled listeners almost daily for the nine months we listened to his persuasive passion for the words of Hardy and Dickens and Thackeray and even Henry James—"The great ones have in common only this: they make you care about the people they create. You may hate them or love them, but you care. If you do not"—and here he would snap his fingers. "If you do not, the novel is nothing; it is a *bagatelle* only."

Now Richard Llewellyn's *Mr. Hamish Gleave* is not really a *bagatelle;* at least it is not "a trifle." This latest novel by Mr. Llewellyn is ambitious; it is pretentious, and it is also a bore. It is written in a strange, oblique manner which, for all I know, may be Welshish; it may just be Mr. Llewellyn. It is not at all readable. Mr. Llewellyn, perhaps because of the way he writes, goes at an idea sideways; he worries it; he claws at it; he sprinkles it with verbiage; then he tosses it aside, like a bone, tooth-marked but undigested, possibly indigestible.

I have not read any of Mr. Llewellyn's novels since *How Green Was My Valley,* which was his first and which came along in the same year I was listening to that English professor. The professor loved it, and so did I. The memory is vague now, but surely we *cared.*

While I was reading about Mr. Hamish Gleave, I kept thinking about that sentence Heywood Broun once wrote about Herbert Hoover. "Nobody in the entire world really likes Mr. Hoover," wrote Mr. Broun, "except Mark Sullivan and possibly Mrs. Hoover." So far as I can tell Mrs. Gleave didn't care much for her husband.

NEITHER does anybody else. He is a servant of the British Foreign Service, and he wishes he were richer and younger and brighter; he wishes his grandfather hadn't squandered the family fortune; he wishes he could be universally loved; he is a child, a rather disagreeable one. He has a fling with a puzzling Russian woman, and eventually, sodden with drink, shriveled by hatred for the Americans, and convinced that the Russians represent the triumphant future, he becomes a traitor, following the example of a homosexual acquaintance. The Russians who take him in are dolts; they are not only unconvincing; they are monumentally unpersuasive.

The jacket of Mr. Llewellyn's novel informs us that it is "more fact than fiction," whatever that means. It is rumored to mean that the inspiration was in the disappearance of Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, the one-time British Foreign Service men who are believed now to be living near Moscow and who are said to be responsible both for the Russians' success with this year's hydrogen bombs and for the spirit of sweet reasonableness that sort of prevailed last summer at Geneva.

I have real almost all the theories about the once-missing Macleans and Burgess; their story isn't quite as fascinating as our very own Hiss and Chambers, but it is pretty intriguing.

Whatever his inspiration, and it seems to have been limited, Mr. Llewellyn has written about a dullard. It is very difficult to make treason uninteresting; Richard Llewellyn has succeeded.

MERLE MILLER is author of The Judges and the Judged, Reunion, That Winter *and other books. His latest novel is* A Secret Understanding.

EDGAR KEMLER

. . . who covers the Washington scene for *The Nation,* began his career in journalism as an editorial assistant on this magazine in 1937-38. Since then he has served as an instructor in government at Harvard (1941-42, 1945-46), as historian of the United States Atlantic Fleet, World War II (1945), as consultant in psychological warfare to the army (1951), and since 1954 has been covering the Washington scene as a reporter for the Bell syndicate.

He's also the author of *An Ethical Guide for New Dealers,* Public Affairs Press, 1941; *The Irreverent Mr. Mencken,* Atlantic Monthly Press-Little Brown, 1950, and at present he is working on a biography of Francis Bacon.

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The Flame of 1848

THE STORY OF A YEAR: 1848. By Raymond Postgate. Oxford University Press. $4.50.

By Hazel Hawthorne

RAYMOND POSTGATE has had a bright idea in taking a year as an entity for historical narrative; not a period, reign or era but a single year. Just any year would not have done, for he has been a specialist in social history and revolution (individually and sometimes in collaboration with Aylmer Vallance and G. D. H. Cole), and 1848 was a brilliant year in respect to these themes.

In form his story falls between the journalistic and the historical, limited to the one in manner, being concise and speedy, qualifying for the other in an abundance of source material and in the acuity of his asides. Like the Thucydides of Macaulay's description: "His history is sometimes as concise as a chronological chart; yet it is always perspicuous. . . . He never fails to contract and to expand it in the right place."

Postgate plots the curve of reforms and revolts as it rose and fell on the graph of the year. In January, in England, the Ten Hours' Act went into operation and was needed indeed; Dickens' dark pictures of the times were not exaggerated. In due course the abortive efforts of the Chartists are recorded. Then, in September, with the accession of Disraeli to the Conservative leadership, a new political era opened.

In France came the days of February, Louis le Blanc's commission of workers ("the first soviet"), the national workshops and Blanqui's formulation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In May an effort to form a provisional government seemed but an escapade but had its importance, for with it ended the classic era of revolutionary tactics. "Popular spontaneity was no longer enough. . . . Nothing [from now on] must be done without careful preparation by calculating specialists. This was the new formula, which was to be tried by Connolly in Dublin in 1916 and Lenin in Petrograd in 1919."

In June the working class arose against the National Assembly. Archbishop Affre was killed between the two forces on the barricades; after the fighting was over 3,000 were killed deliberately. "The silence that followed this deadly weekend seemed in a sense to spread all over Europe. Comment was hushed; the nations were horrified. . . . The results of those four dreadful days are not yet over. They have been especially long-lasting in France. . . . *Bourgeois* and *proletaire,* by a tradition started in June and since then passed from father to son, have each believed that . . . behind the large speeches of politicians was a reality of class war and death which should never be forgotten. . . .

"In 1940, when the Nazi threat drove all British classes together into one unit, the French nation fell apart; the army had to hold back forces to deal with the 'Reds' at home . . . and to this day the two classes do not speak the same language."

IN Germany, came the evacuation of the Prussian army from Berlin, and the liberal Parliament. Austro-Hungary experienced the flight of Metternich and had an assembly and a constitution until the fall of Vienna. Revolution had its short day in Italy, with the Pope fleeing from Rome and with the rise of Mazzini and Garibaldi, but here, too, the curve again declined. In Ireland insurrection failed. And then in December Louis Napoleon Bonaparte swore loyalty to the Constitution of the French Republic, a republic he was soon to destroy.

Postgate assigns "the vice of nationalism" as the reason for the failures, rather than the Marxist reasons according to "the metaphysical fantasy called dialectical materialism."

At the end we are told not to pass a melancholy verdict but to remember what was to happen in the next half century "in all the countries which the flame of 1848 had scorched."

I was tempted at first reading to consider Postgate's selection of lesser events of his year as on the miscellaneous, even trivial, side but I have put the items to the test of Macaulay's "noiseless revolutions" and have changed my mind. Macaulay included in his definition of noiseless revolutions changes of manners and morals and the transitions from poverty to wealth, ferocity to humanity. By this test the gold rush, the openings of railways, the Fonetic Festival of Sir Isaac Pitman, the crimes, the dioramas of New York, even the prices of curious hats are significant.

So here is a story intelligently plotted either to beguile the bedtime reader or to induct the novice into the history of the nineteenth century.

HAZEL HAWTHORNE is a free-lance critic and short-story writer.

Selected New Books

History and Politics

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LAW OF NATIONS. By Oscar Svarlien. McGraw-Hill. $6. The latest addition to the long list of expositions of international law which began in 1625 with Grotius's "De Jure Belli ac Pacis." Svarlien's tome, well-ordered, up-to-date, and readable, is by no means the worst of the lot. Yet it scarcely compares with the standard classics. It is unimaginative and lacking in sociological and psychological insights.

FRANZ JOSEF AND NAPOLEON III, 1825-1864. By Charles W. Hallberg. Bookman Associates. $5. Austrian-French relations a century ago are of more than antiquarian interest. They involved the unification of Italy and the rivalries of the great powers in the Near East, both of which are contemporary facts of life. The chairman of the History Department at Queens College worked with archives in Paris and Vienna; he gives us an informative diplomatic history in conventional style.

WOODROW WILSON AND THE BALANCE OF POWER. By Edward H. Buehrig. Indiana. $5. A decade ago, Professor Buehrig of Indiana University served the State Department and the United Nations; he then spent a year at the Princeton Institute for Advanced Study preparing this analysis of Anglo-American-German relations. The result is a fresh contribution to understanding the paradox of Woodrow Wilson, who practiced Realpolitik in the guise of moral idealism. These pages,

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always lucid and sometimes brilliant, also throw new light on the origins of the League of Nations and on the how and why of America's first commitment to prevent European unification by conquest.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. $1. This pamphlet by Frances A. Thompson, with an introduction by Albert Vorspan, is a competent and useful study-guide to major issues and problems. Its publishers believe that devotion to Judaism is inseparable from the duty of citizens to be informed, reflective and responsible in their approach to world affairs.

CITY DIVIDED: BERLIN 1955. By Ewan Butler. Praeger. $3.95. Illustrated. A British journalist breezily paints a mordant portrait of the wrecked and split German metropolis. His account is gossipy, graphic, amusing and tragic; it suggests that the dilemma of the Berliners is the microcosm of a world still out of joint.

THE COLOSSUS AGAIN. Western Germany from Defeat to Rearmament. By Alfred Grosser. Translated by Richard Rees. Praeger. $4.75. A Sorbonne authority on Germany, who once fought in the Underground, writes a luminous and suggestive essay on the resurrection of the postwar Reich. Like most Frenchmen, he deems German rearmament and unification to be as necessary as a hole in the head. Unlike some Frenchmen and many Americans, he perceives that cooperation across the Rhine must be built upon common creative purposes, not on anti-communism.

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1954. Edited by Peter V. Curl. Harper. $5. An unusually valuable compendium of documents bearing on EDC, WEU, NATO, SEATO, the Berlin and Geneva Conferences of 1954, and much else. The sixteenth annual volume, published for the Council of Foreign Relations: as always, an indispensable reference work.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Music

B. H. Haggin

ONE THING that was extraordinary at Victoria de los Angeles' first recitals here five years ago was how in the very first phrase she produced sounds as effortlessly secure and lovely as those one heard the rest of the evening. And this was true again at her recent recital: there was no warming up, no working off of nervousness in the opening performance of Mozart's *Exultate Jubilate,* but instead a completely secure delivery of sustained melodic phrases and florid passages right from the start. With only one difference: the lusciousness the voice had throughout its range five years ago was now gone from the top. But it still made the lower range a delight to the ear; and additional delights were the bravura style of the performance of *Una voce poco fa* from *The Barber of Seville,* the beautiful phrasing of songs of Schubert and Brahms. One song by Brahms, *Geheimnis,* I don't recall having heard before; and this is hard to understand, since it is one of his most delicately wrought and loveliest.

At Mattiwilda Dobbs's recital the soprano voice that previously had been tiny but exquisite was now more voluminous but sometimes not agreeable. Whether because of nervousness or because of production problems, an exquisite pianissimo was produced occasionally with a strain that could be seen in the configuration of the face; but at times this strain produced a pianissimo that was unlovely; and at other times this pianissimo was pushed to a fortissimo that was even unlovelier. All this happened in the earlier part of the concert; but later, Miss Dobbs settled down into singing that was relaxed, secure, beautiful in tone and brilliantly agile and accurate in florid passages. Unfortunately this meant that her best singing was done not in the music of Handel and Wolf that came first, but in a so-called Concerto for coloratura soprano by Gliere which she should be ashamed for having sung at all, and in a group of songs by Ned Rorem about which the only thing to say is what Virgil Thomson once observed concerning a work by Howard Hanson: that it was the music of a composer but not of a creator.

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concert of German music, it revealed not only Ralph Hunter's inability to get from the chorus the beautiful vocal sound that Robert Shaw used to get, but his inability to give life to the old music of Schuetz, Schein, Johann Christoph Bach, one of the great Sebastian's older relatives, and Sebastian himself. Only Mozart's unfamiliar and impressive *Vesperae Solennes de Confessore* K.339, modern in feeling and style, and employing a brilliant orchestra, came off with exciting effect; and in this work Helen Boatwright did some distinguished singing in the soprano solo of the *Laudate Dominum*.

THE FIRST movement of Haydn's Symphony No. 102 is sluggish and stodgy as Bruno Walter plays it with the New York Philharmonic on Columbia ML-5059, and he does some of his lingering and melting in the slow movement; but the minuet and finale are effectively animated, as are all the movements of No. 96. However the orchestral sound is fatter than that of van Beinum's performance of No. 96 with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw and Solti's of No. 102 with the London Philharmonic; and with their leaner sound these two have a sensitiveness of inflection, a fineness and clarity of texture, a lightness and energy, that Walter's performances don't have.

Orchestral playing of marvelous refinement of execution and sonority by the London Philharmonia and excellent pacing and shaping by von Karajan add up to a first-rate performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 2 on Angel 35196. But Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture, on the same record, doesn't work for me in the slow tempo set by von Karajan—by which I mean that it doesn't have the shattering intensity and power that it has had in other performances I have heard.

The unfamiliar earlier movements of Tchaikovsky's Suite No. 3 on London LL-1295 have superbly wrought passages characteristic of Tchaikovsky; but it is the concluding Theme and Variations made familiar by Balanchine's ballet of that title that offers the most impressive manifestations of Tchaikovsky's invention, craftsmanship and taste. Unfortunately Boult does an extremely bad job of pacing the successive variations, in his performance with the Paris Conservatory Orchestra; and though a few of Schuricht's tempos are slow, his performance with the same orchestra is nevertheless better than Boult's.

One of the pleasures of the Sadler's Wells Ballet revival of the original Fokine *Firebird* was hearing the beautiful Stravinsky score in its entirety and in the original rich but precise and subtle orchestration. And this pleasure is offered now by the first recording of the complete score—a recording of a good performance by Ansermet with his Orchestre de la Suisse romande on London LL-1272.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

THE CHARACTERS of Paddy Chayefsky's *The Middle of the Night* (ANTA Theatre) are called "The Mother," "The Girl," "The Manufacturer," "The Neighbor," etc. In other words, they are broad types. Chayefsky is writing about "average" people—hardly distinguishable from thousands of middle-class people we rub shoulders with every day. The widowed middle-aged manufacturer, growing lonely, falls in love with a twenty-four-year-old girl who has just separated from her empty-headed jazz musician of a husband. There are sensible arguments against their proposed marriage: chiefly the difference in age. That is the story premise. The moral of the play is that people ought to follow the impulse of their normal instincts—provided there is affection and mutual need—and reject the petty considerations of customary prejudices. In short, Chayefsky stands for the simple virtues of honest folk.

This may be either very sound or very boring. Chayefsky has a knack of catching the surface color of humdrum American life. Though essentially a New Yorker, he seems familiar and pleasantly at ease with the rhythms and patterns of commonplace activity of national "Middletown." Since many—too many—playgoers are not this much aware of the humor or pathos of their ordinary behavior they respond to what strikes them as an almost photographic representation of their behavior with considerable pleasure. "That's right," they seem to be saying, "that's just what us folks are like. How nice!" On both sides of the footlights there is an atmosphere of commendable decency. It seems wrong somehow to be the least bit dubious of this community of sentiment.

The play is very well produced. Edward G. Robinson is a likeable, natural, virile, expert actor who does everything as it should be done—one who, given the chance, can do much more. We are glad to have him back on the stage. June Walker, Anne Jackson, Martin Balsam—almost all, in fact—are excellent. Joshua Logan's direction is smooth, secure, clean and clear. There is barely a shadow anywhere.

It is this clarity that troubles me. (It will not trouble the wide public to whom the play is addressed. That is why I feel a certain hesitation in going beyond these first comments: the production succeeds in its intention.) I am convinced that the most ordinary people in the world are not "ordinary" at all—if seen in the light of values beyond the description of their most superficial behavior. I feel that there is something demeaning—literally nihilistic—in the amiable naturalism which eliminates every nuance of difference between one kind of person and another within readily recognized "classes" or types. Artists must lend their characters some particular face, dress, or aura of their own which will create a distinction, a heightening of their meaning. We look at the characters of *The Middle of the Night* as through a pane of glass which presents them as we see them mechanically in the hurried glance we accord passersby. Under these circumstances, we label them at best with lazy designations borrowed nowadays from penny psychologists.

It is not a question of idealizing mediocre folk. For the artist there can hardly be any mediocre folk. Chekhov's frustrated fools are saints and poets compared to the nice people of *The Middle of the Night*, and Flaubert's wicked portraits of dul-

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lards and super-idiots are salutary as well as memorable because they are born of the author's anguish and anger—not to mention a superior descriptive capacity.

To see the ordinary "nice guy" with the eyes of another "nice guy" is to reduce both to something less than human. The values here are at bottom only values for animal survival. I don't give a hang for men and women whose only happiness or goal is to be warm, comfortable and together in the companionship of safe cohabitation—cats and dogs want no more. That there are such people may be so—I don't really believe it—but if so it is the function of the artist to disapprove of their mode of living for forfeiting their birthright or to make us weep for them that they are so lost to the fullness of life.

The ultimate impression I get from the people in *The Middle of the Night* is not only that there are no cultural appetites, pursuits or horizons among them, but that they have lost all real taste for bread or wine and that even their flesh is only a sorry accident. They appear entirely surrounded by a world without substance except in publicity. I for one cannot enjoy their sedative qualities.

Films

Robert Hatch

MY FEELING about William Inge is that he is more skilled at manipulating people than at saying anything about them. He is a great one for throwing pebbles into a still pool for the excitement of seeing what the bubbles may bring up. It is an engaging curiosity and since Inge is a skilled play mechanic he gives you a reasonable return for your money. It is only if you call him a dramatist that you must make niggardly reservations.

So I expected that Joshua Logan would have directed a lively and from moment to moment amusing, frightening, or touching film from *Picnic*. What I didn't expect was that he would set it on the scale and in the sweetpea colors of *Oklahoma!* Whatever Inge may make of them, the materials of *Picnic* are malevolent. The handsome, good-natured stranger is the kind of danger that keeps a responsible psychiatrist awake nights. The pretty daughter, trapped in her own obvious prettiness, and the aging schoolteacher, so desperate she will crawl on hands and knees toward the town's least eligible bachelor, are case studies in the frustration that breeds violence. Whatever are they doing in this sunny, babbling landscape, this wisteria make-believe?

I understand the effectiveness of horror acted out against careless laughter and the sound of birds, but that is not the case here. It is not really horror we are talking about, rather danger and bitterness, and the sweetness is not used for italics—it is the whole atmosphere of the film. I can only conclude that a *Picnic* is a picnic and is going to be sold as innocent merriment, however many people are gobbled up with the sandwiches.

The direction, as opposed to the style of the picture, is better than average and could be better still. William Holden, Kim Novak and Betty Field have a secure feeling for the people they are supposed to be, but Mr. Logan, mistrusting the acuteness of his audience, makes them spell out their roles in simple block letters.

A WORD of warning—do not go to *Lease of Life* on the mistaken notion that English sentimentality is somehow less cloying than the native concoction. You wouldn't believe how good and long-suffering Mr. Robert Donat is as the impoverished clergyman with no lease on life.

Spring Book Issue

April 14

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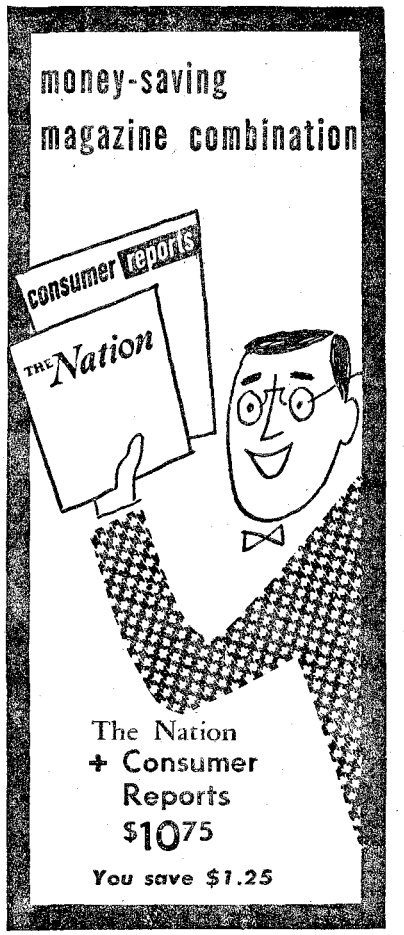
by Lawrence Lipton

Graham Greene
by Walter Allen

Essays, reviews, poetry



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Letters

Bikini Mystery

Dear Sirs: If Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the A. E. C., says that there is no such thing as a hydrogen-uranium fission-fusion-fission bomb, he must of course know what he is talking about. What amazes me is the reluctance of the American press to discuss the super-explosion in the Pacific two years ago, which, as Dr. Ralph Lapp pointed out in Life Magazine last June, makes all our civil-defense planning obsolete.

Before the Life article appeared, the New York Times had published on its front page the story by Anthony Leviero which is quoted in the article by Gene Marine in your issue of January 28. On June 24, 1955, at the Overseas Press Club, in response to a question by this correspondent, Admiral Strauss denied that there was a hydrogen-uranium bomb. That evening, I wrote to the editors of The New York Times and Life Magazine informing them that Admiral Strauss had denied their stories. Neither letter was acknowledged or published. After the brave start made last June in these two important organs of public opinion, a blanket of silence has been spread over this vital subject.

Incidentally, when I questioned Admiral Strauss at the Overseas Press Club, I made the mistake of referring to "The New York Times story by Bill Laurence." Mr. Laurence, who was sitting alongside of the Admiral, exploded wrathfully that it was not his story. It was, of course, Mr. Leviero's. My advise to the next reporter who is able to question Admiral Strauss about the Binkini explosion of March, 1954, is to ask about a hydrogen-uranium device, not a bomb.

JESSE ZEL LURIE

Pleasantville, N. Y.

[Mr. Marine's article in The Nation pointed up the overwhelming evidence which has come to light indicating the existence of the U-bomb. We sent a copy to Admiral Strauss with a telegraphed request for comment. No reply so far.—The Editors.]

Soviet Economy

Dear Sirs: Mr. Wiles's article on the strength of the Soviet economy was very informative, and especially effective because of the candid manner of its presentation. I was unsure, however, about which of the "free democratic countries" Mr. Wiles was alluding to when he wrote that the democracies need ". . . state power to rationalize: that is, to amalgamate enterprises, to enforce specialization upon branch factories, to standardize products. . . ." Surely these innovations would be strange bedfellows with American programs concerning government and industry.

Ashland, Va. ROGER D. YOUNG

No "Wild Fantasies"

Dear Sirs: We take exception to the implication by Joseph Dorfman in his review of Time for Living by George Soule (October 29 issue) that the Technocrats of the 1930's indulged in "wild fantasies" about "the magnitude and blessings of technological advance." Anyone who troubles to examine our official statements during those years will find that they stand up remarkably well—if anything they are on the conservative side.

DONALD BRUCE
Editor, Technocracy Digest

Vancouver, B. C.

Pulpit for Unionism

(*Continued from opposite page 149*)

cutor first asked if any present had ever invoked the Fifth Amendment before a grand jury. When West replied that he had, the prosecutor declared the oath would not be administered to him unless he appeared before the grand jury and answered all questions. West refused and appealed in vain to Reverend Pratt for support. Unable to take the oath, West resigned from the church.

The mill owners certainly appear to have won. West has been kicked out of *The Southerner*. The one small strike that broke out was ruthlessly smashed. An NLRB election at the largest chenille company was narrowly lost by the union in a poll which it is contesting on the grounds of intimidation and illegal voting by supervisory personnel. But many think this is only the first act. Following the election defeat, the union held its largest and most successful rally. The Dalton press is complaining bitterly that the area is still infected with "Westism." Furthermore, Don West is going full steam ahead with plans for a new *Southerner* as soon as the necessary funds can be raised.

GEORGE L. WEISSMAN

GEORGE L. WEISSMAN is a free-lance writer chiefly on labor subjects.

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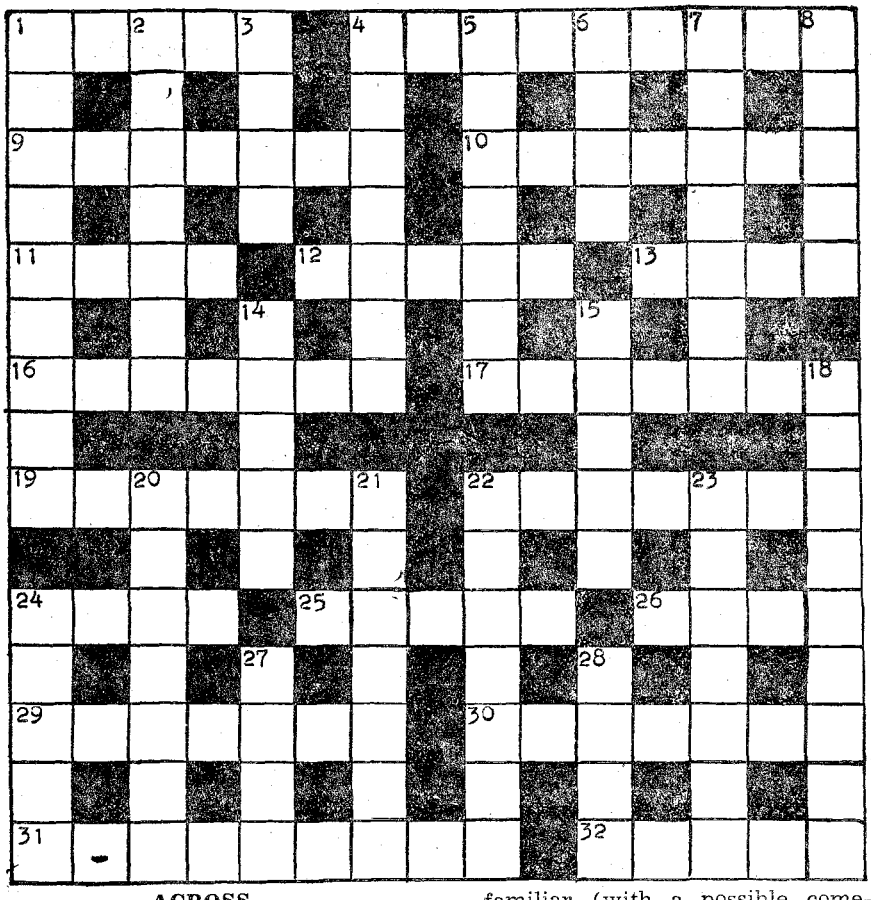
Crossword Puzzle No. 660

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Fix up shelter in order to throw a ball? (5)
4 and 2 down Was this taken off the counter to make Alice's gown? (1, 4, 4, 3, 4)
9 The poacher is hoping to find it inside. (7)
10 Out of place now that modern rooms don't put one in the corner. (7)
11 and 13 Might it imply good cheer due to its jaundiced complexion? (8)
12 Put forward like the extremes of 19. (5)
13 See 11 across
16 Releases from liability. (7)
17 Eat after this for the mother-in-law, jocularly. (7)
19 China's shaky condition has me just about like a political organization. (7)
22, 26, 31, 28 down, 29, 14 down and 5 down Introducing consecutive fall events? (4, 3, 4, 4, 2, 3, 4, 2, 5, 1, 4, 2, 5)
24 This is in with the spare part removed. (4)
25 Proving a cheap fabric might be rather loud? (5)
26 and 29 See 22 across
30 Since a sort of it is about, it might cause an accident. (7)
31 See 22 across
32 The persistent don't. (3, 2)

DOWN

1 He's bound to be thick-skinned. (9)
2 See 4 across
3 This fellow should be rather familiar (with a possible come-down associated with 30). (4)
4 The companion of Aeneas might take pains to get at the heart of it. (7)
5 See 22 across
6 This duck couldn't have made an early appearance. (4)
7 Quite recent, with the actual surroundings implying something already subscribed to. (7)
8 With something on the bridge or in the bell? (5)
14 See 22 across
15 Show a trace of the fishing boat. (5)
18 Prepares for mounting eventualities. (7, 2)
20 Sheer delight, when it comes to pastry? (7)
21 Does this make the listeners angry quite commonly? (7)
22 James seems to wander about in the plant. (7)
23 Filled with formic acid outside and caustic inside as a means of support. (7)
24 I won't be so taken when in need of help! (2, 3)
27 Near the islands of which it is chief. (4)
28 See 22 across

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 659

ACROSS: 1 FIGHTER PLANES; 10 PIERROT; 11 MILITIA; 12 GOLDSMITH; 13 NAVAL; 14 APPLES; 16 RESISTOR; 19 HUSTLING; 20 SCORES; 22 and 26 BOARD OF TRADE; 23 CHAPARRAL; 25 ATHALIA; 27 COMMON CARRIER. DOWN: 2 IDEAL; 3 HARD-SHELLED CLAM; 4 ENTAIL; 5 PAMPHLET; 6 ATLANTIC CHARTER; 7 ESTIVATOR; 8 EPIGRAPH; 9 and 18 down BALL AND CHAIN; 15 PISTACHIO; 17 RESOLVED; 21 DAKOTA; 22 BOAR; 24 READE.

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